independence from the Turks in the early decades of the nineteenth century. A ruined fortress of this leader is to be seen a short distance north of the town, and his descendants, the House of Isma'il Beg, still own much of its property. The Turks, who appreciated the strategic significance of Rowandux with relation to the trade route and the possibility of a military advance along this line from Russia, made it the seat of a qaimmaqam, an Ottoman governor, subject to the Kirkuk sanjaq (district) of the vilayet (province) of Mosul. Administratively it was equal in rank to Erbil, and immediately prior to the first World War had one or two battalions of infantry stationed nearby, as well as a police detachment. As a part of the monarchy of Iraq, it is now much more of an administrative than a commercial center and is still under a qaimmaqam, but denoted beneath the control of Erbil.

In Ottoman times Rowandux was a flourishing town of about a thousand houses and had a population estimated at 5000. It occupied a sloping tongue of land, running east and west along the Rowandux river. The river was joined just above the town, to the west, by another stream flowing through a gorge then called the Kalund, and above this juncture rose a great bluff, several hundred feet above the floor of the valley, termed Qala Tiluk (Arabic, qala'a, "fortress"). The flat top of this bluff was occupied by the house of Sa'id Beg, a descendant of Kor Pasha, the villas of the Turkish officers, some summer residences of

the merchants of the town, and gardens. The Turkish serai and the main body of the town were to be found in the valley, close to the river. The bluff commands a magnificent view of the surrounding countryside, the peak of Sari Hasan Beg rising 8405 feet above sea level to the northeast, that of Handrin Dagh 8600 feet to the southeast, and the cliffs of Kurrek Dagh to 7500 feet to the west. During the first World War, however, a Russian army entered the valley and destroyed the town, slaughtering those inhabitants who remained behind, as well as the Turkish wounded who had been sheltered in a mosque. Most of the populace fled to Erbil, and only several hundred families of the original population returned after the end of the war.

The town was gradually rebuilt during the decade which followed the first World War, not in the valley, but on the bluff formerly called Qala Tiluk which is a formidable defensive position against infantry, for the gorges of the Rowandux and Handrin rivers protect it on three sides. This is the new Rowandux, and the site of the older is occupied only by an army barracks constructed by the British and a small aggregation of buildings known as Kawlokan. A description of the new town will be found in the study to follow. Rowandux is joined to the modern automobile highway by a road which follows the Rowandux river east to a point named Jindian where a steel bridge crosses the high rocky banks of the river. The town is on the old caravan

route, a path unsuitable for vehicles, but still used by the villagers, and several tracks lead off to the villages at its rear. Rowanduz proved itself advantageous for an initial investigation of Kurdish culture, for it has a basis population of merchants and landowners whose life is considerably richer and more complex than that of the poor farmers and shepherds. To obtain the most complete portrayal, of course, a desirable supplement should be obtained from the villagers and the nomads in future work. In relation to the second problem, however, the impact of the state on Kurdish society, Rowanduz was ideal, because it was in the town that the new class of society, that of the government officials and officers, had replaced the few Ottoman officials and the first signs of change could be observed. The first object of this study, then, is the analysis of Rowanduz as an administrative and mercantile center and Kurdish life as it is to be observed there. The second object is the determination of the way in which the imposition of a new order of society has affected the Kurds.

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Figure 3. Sketch Map of Rowanduz

1. Isma'il Beg. 2. Court House. 3. Police Post. 4. Tobacco Monopoly. 5. Girl's School. 6. House of Qaimmaqam. 7. Sayyid Heusni. 8. Primary School. 9. Veterinarian. 10. Serai. 11. Communications Office. 12. Sadiq Agha. 13. Hospital. 14. Ra'uf Effendi. 15. Lower Residential Area. 16. Bazar. 17. Cemetery. 18. Garage. 19. Ashi Shaykhi. 20. Garage. 21. Great Mosque. 22. Upper Residential Area. 23. Shakir Effendi. 24. Nuri Bawil Agha. 25. Women's Mosque. 26. Club.

CHAPTER II

THE ADMINISTRATIVE CENTER

To give a description of Rowanduz, its administrative and economic importance, as well as its social and religious life, demands a certain excursus above and beyond the actual physical limits of the town. To understand the role of the town, not only as a rural center, but in broader cultural horizons, one must have some understanding of the areas within which it lies. It is not intended to enter into an exhaustive discussion of either regional cultures or of a civilization, for that presupposes a much more extended survey than either the basis or the framework of this study can support, but rather to indicate the proper perspective in which the town must be viewed. The most convenient beginning to this task is not to be found in an economic or social background, but in the government, for in proceeding from its delineation, in many cases generalized with respect to district and to nation, an effective appreciation of later discussion can be formed.

Thus a clearer definition of the position of Rowanduz as an administrative center requires in some wise an appreciation of the constitution of Iraq itself, on whose northeastern border lies the district dominated by the town. A segment of the old Ottoman Empire, the territory of modern Iraq was

At the head of the executive branch of government, subject, of course, to legislative or royal check, are the ministers, from whose various departments all public officers are appointed. Following in general the old Ottoman lines, the country is divided into fourteen liwas, each under a mutesarif. The liwa is subdivided into qadhas, each under a qaimmaqam. The qadha is in turn subdivided into a number of nahiyas, each under a mudir. Large towns have a rais baladiya appointed by the government whose office is responsible for the intricacies of metropolitan administration. The people have a mukhtar, selected from the local inhabitants, who, while in no sense a public official, acts in liason between his fellows and the mudir, a role exactly comparable to that of the 'umda in contemporary Egypt.[1]

631. 648 [622]

The qadha or district of Rowanduz belongs to the Erbil liwa, and is subdivided into five nahiyas. The sedentary population of these, as well as the number of villages, is listed here for 1950, as furnished by the census officer of Rowanduz. In spite of this official's labors in reducing a difficult problem, it is necessary to regard these figures with some reservation, for the Kurds, like many of their contemporaries in the Middle East and like the Israelites of old, regard inquiries into their numbers with the strongest suspicion. Similarly, the "village" here referred to may vary from a few isolated

631. 162 361. [186]

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[1] Ayrout, 1945, pp. 47-48.

162 361 houses to a much larger number, which explains what may at first appear as abnormally high numbers. To these have been added the figures for nomads, of which a discussion will be found below.

	Men	Women	Total	Number of villages
Markaz Qadha (the central district)				
The town of Rowanduz	2,195	2,359	4,554	
The nahiya	9,012	7,098	16,110	92
Balak	4,047	3,768	7,815	70
Baredost	3,325	2,761	6,086	-
Margasur	-	-	3,078	55
Dara Harir	5,375	5,578	10,953	90
			48,596	
Nomads	2,427	3,123	5,550	
			54,146	

The numbers given for nomads may be treated with even greater suspicion, because they are even less amenable than the villager to the census-taker, who, in their minds, has little to differentiate himself from the tax-collector or recruiting officer.

233 369 The matter of the nomad--kotchir in Kurdish, as opposed to karmanj, the villager--must give us pause. The term "nomad" has a variety of applications, and, in the Middle East, is given its classical sense in those Arab wanderers of the Syrian and Arabian deserts or the Turkoman horsemen of the northern marches, "true" nomads in the sense that to a very large extent they can live independently of others from the produce of their flocks

another was of a Muslim Turkish family. Enlisted personnel include a large number of conscripts assigned there for training, many of them "Marsh Arabs." Uniforms and equipment, like organization, are derived from the British army, and the army has, of course, a greater variety of modern arms, as well as equipment, than the police. It might be thought that the district would gain from the supply of such a unit, but most of the rations are brought in by lorry from the quartermaster depot in Erbil. The details of training need not concern us. It is a common sight, however, to see a company of infantry struggling up a mountain-side in manoeuvres, and in the summer the valleys may reecho with artillery practice.

Officers, when off duty, have free pass to Rowanduz, and it is from this fact that they exercise an important social influence in the town. Enlisted personnel, excepting those few non-commissioned officers who have homes there, are not permitted in Rowanduz save during the daylight hours of Friday. It is some testimony to their desire for diversion that so many make the long climb to the town on Friday, simply to sit in a <u>chaykhana</u> where they can drink tea, talk, and play at backgammon (<u>tawli</u> in colloquial Iraqi Arabic). Military police patrol the streets of Rowanduz, not only on this day, but throughout the week. However, enlisted men have much freer access to Kawlokan, the small collection of houses and a mosque, which marks the site of old Rowanduz beneath the bluff, and there is a

roadside <u>shaykhana</u> between Kawlokan and the barracks. With the reputations of their daughters in mind, the townspeople of Rowanduz keep the enlisted personnel of the army at some distance, and, because the army has greater freedom in Kawlokan, describe its population, perhaps a hundred in all, as being wholly made up of "prostitutes and procurers." There seems to be no truth in the accusation. In addition, they do not tolerate arrack-drinking by enlisted men in Rowanduz. The story is often told how several years ago a soldier managed to become intoxicated while in town and made loud and unseemly remarks in a <u>shaykhana</u>. He was thrown into the gorge, and, in the inquiry into his death, the townspeople asserted that, while drunk, he claimed "he was able to fly," and that they knew nothing of the matter beyond this.

There are, at times, government agents of other departments at work in the district, for example, those of the Directorate-General of Agriculture, but their connections are with Erbil or Baghdad, rather than with Rowanduz itself. Some of the most important of these are the engineers of the department charged with public works, for they utilize local labor in their constructions. In the summer of 1951 one such engineer was engaged in resurfacing the road between Rowanduz and Jiadian, and some fifty men from Rowanduz and the district were employed in this work. There are any number of others, such as repairmen for the telephone and telegraph lines, who frequent the area.

and valley according to the season. The agricultural year 231
approximates that of Central and Northern Europe, in that 241
planting begins in the spring and harvesting after mid-summer. Winter is a lean season, particularly with respect to fruits and vegetables, for there are almost no techniques [251] known to preserve most varieties through winter and spring.

It is necessary to note that grain in the area is 256
ground into flour by water-driven mills, but their construction, a water-driven rotor turning a millstone, need not detain us.[1] There are three such mills (Kurdish, ashi, from Arabic, hashira) near the town of Rowanduz, Ashi Shaykhi immediately above the town, Ashi Miri in Kawlokan, and Ashi Bayshukh at Jindian. The general practice is to [465] pay the mill-owner one bowl of flour from every four-gallon tin ground. If the owner of the grain is wealthy, he may pay the miller the monetary equivalent of the bowl, a small sum.

It is almost impossible to describe a "typical" 361
agricultural village for the area, because there is a great deal of variation in size, and some differences in the emphasis placed on certain crops. However, a small village overlooking the road between Shaqlawah and Harir will provide some general idea. This consists of about thirty rubble and mud-brick houses of a single-storey with flat mud roofs, built in three rectangular tiers along 342

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[1] A detailed description is to be found in Leach, 1940, pp. 69-70.

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a hillside, the roofs of the lower tiers serving as porches for those above. The population of this community [162] was estimated at about 150 adults. The individual house is simple, its floor of tamped earth, its windows without glass, no provision made for the escape of smoke from an [354] indoor firepit save doors and windows, and its furnishings meager. [312] Water is obtained from a neighboring stream. This 366 village boasts no specialized constructions and is without shops. Larger villages, such as Batas or Dyana, have a number of buildings for special purposes, for example, [344] [346] the police post and the Nestorian church in Dyana, and a definite mercantile section. Fields as well as house-yards 417 of the villagers are often marked out with extensive fences of interlaced branches and thorns or of rubble. In the 231 smaller village described above, cattle and other domestic 342 animals were housed within the dwellings themselves during cold weather, and in some locales in the area caves are used as cattle-pens or sheep-folds in the winter. 361 The "agglomerated" village pattern of rural occupation in the Middle East and in Southern Europe has been noticed often, but in the Rowanduz district it is possible to find isolated farm settlements of no more than one or two houses. The 342 kotchir, who do not winter in the area, use for shelter a black goat-hair tent floored with rugs, in general appearance not unlike that of Arab nomads, but less complex. Some of these tents, such as those used by chieftains for summer guest-houses, are quite spacious and of unique designs.

tools, kerosene, matches, rice, salt, shoes, and sugar. 432
It must finally be stressed that the economy is one of money, however minute the sums involved may be. Agricultural and dairy products are sold for cash, and items such as have been listed above are purchased on the same terms. Barter, while it may still occur in some situations, is not the typical mode of exchange, and the system of values is always expressed in terms of money. [437]

The town of Rowandus, occupying the sloping top of a great bluff, has roughly three divisions. The lowest is that first encountered when arriving from the valley below and contains a number of government buildings, a scattering of residences, and a large amount of vacant land, unoccupied because of its higher prices. At a steeper point of the slope the houses increase in number and the center of the town is reached, the mercantile area of closely adjoining shops and dwellings. This section merges with the heavily settled upper part of the town, almost wholly residential in character, whose houses gradually thin out around the hills behind the town. The mercantile area or bazar begins with a steeply sloping street lined on both sides with shops which terminates in a wide area, a "square" flanked by the great mosque (jama'a al-kabir), the garage, and two chaykhanas. From this square another street of shops leads upward, finally reaching a little clearing surrounded by shops from which three lanes branch out into the houses of the upper town. 361 [366]

Some of the more specialized shops of the bazar will 347

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Attention might be directed to the land of Rowanduz itself. Before the Russians burned the old town, the present site above the valley was occupied by only a few Ottoman buildings, summer residences, and gardens. Most of the choicest lands in the new town are owned by Lali Khan and Ra'uf Effendi whose families had titles from Ottoman times. In the lower priced lands of the modern upper town there is a variety of tenure, government (amiriya), private (tapu), and religious endowment (waqf), but the two most important owners are those mentioned here. [727]

It is somewhat unfortunate, in treating the economies of the Rowanduz district and the position of its principal town within such a system, to be unable to present an exact quantitative analysis. In the absence of government statistics, and faced with the widespread distrust of the populace toward inquiries which might bear some relation to taxation, one must be satisfied with a generalized description of a primary nature. This need not be regarded as a deficit, inasmuch as the more important conclusions of this study have reference to social structure, an emphasis, however, which in no wise implies that the economic background is not critically germane to the discussion. It is therefore possible, in closing this section, to re-emphasize certain generalities which statistical information would not seem likely to modify in any serious fashion. 121 186 [123] [651]

The size and importance of any town can be governed by a number of things, environmental, economic, social, or religious. 121

CHAPTER IV

HOUSE, DRESS, AND DIET

The town of Rowanduz, aside from its government buildings and bazar, contains some 800 houses. The four mosques, and the club, the only remaining specialized constructions, will be discussed in later sections, and the house itself, with other material features of daily life, such as diet and clothing, may be treated here. The town has three general divisions, the first largely unoccupied, the second containing both shops and dwellings, and the third almost wholly residential. It would be incorrect to say that building has been completely without reference to any overall plan, for, although there has certainly been no conscious attempt to build according to any preconceived design, Rowanduz, with its specialized bazar surrounding the principal mosque and its lanes of houses, some of them cut at right angles to the main thoroughfare, follows certain very generalized notions of the constitution of towns elsewhere. Any construction, however, has been greatly conditioned by the land, because beneath the scanty topsoil there are hard, irregular crags of rock, and both houses and streets have out of necessity adapted themselves to their contours. There has been little attempt, particularly in the absence of any but the most burdensome means, to level or to build up the

irregularities of the slope, and the general process has been one of building around or avoiding them. It might also be remembered that this is a new town, built up since the destruction of the old in the valley in 1917. 361

The streets and lanes are unpaved, their surfaces the rough face of the rock, resembling in most cases a hard, cobblestone pavement. As many of them are precipitous, accidents, particularly at night, are not uncommon, and in the winter of 1950 two persons suffered broken limbs by losing their footing. There is a "main thoroughfare," a central artery of travel to which most lanes lead, corresponding in part to the street leading through the bazar. On reaching the top of the bluff by the steep, winding automobile road from the valley, two streets branch out around the serai and join together just before the bazar to form the principal street and center. Where the bazar merges with the upper residential section, two lanes, more important than others, divide to skirt the hill which dominates this upper area and join again above the town. Along the streets, the open spaces between the houses are often lined with fences, either of rubble or of interwoven branches, usually enclosing a garden. The lots left vacant are either barren soil, such as the "brickyard" noticed above, or covered with tough, long grass and scrub vegetation. A number of trees grow unattended along the edges of the cliffs, but almost all others are confined to the gardens and yards of private dwellings. 363 351 361 [137]

house has a fresh mountain spring running through it, vigorously refused to drink the water of Rowanduz, asserting it was "dirty" and made him ill. Because many of the channels are open, numerous things can get in the water, to name a few, dogs, chickens, infants, and refuse, as it courses downward, and the townspeople are cognizant of the fact. In the larger households the interior basins and water jars are filled just before daybreak when the water, after a night of running, is thought to be purer, and the women of poorer homes carry their water at the same time. "The higher in the town, the better the water," it is said, although this in no way seems to operate to condition the price of land.

The houses of the poorer townspeople are to be found clustered on the cheaper land of the residential upper town. While some are two-storey apartment buildings housing several families, the characteristic form is a small, rectangular mud-brick building of a single room with a rolled mud roof. The floor is of earth, the walls and ceiling unfinished, and the windows, if there are any, small, open loopholes in the walls. In lieu of a wooden door, a hanging of coarse cloth or blanketing may be used in winter. Cooking surrounds an earthen fire-pit in one corner, or, in fair weather, has a place just outside the door, but the diet of the poor does not require complex preparation. The furnishings of these homes are the meagerest: a few mats, a collection of tattered blankets and quilts from which the beds are made on the floor, a

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 6. Urban milieu. Uneducated married woman and educated girl taking tea in the courtyard. Sulaimani.

The Kurdish women whose cultural pattern is to be considered below cannot, in my view, be grouped under the common denominator of "the Kurdish woman". Even on the basis of such relatively limited investigation material as was available to me, four different female environments can be pointed to, the cultural patterns of which vary very greatly. The first and most obvious division is that between village and provincial environment, but these two groups can be further subdivided, though on different principles.

The village milieu can be socially divided into two strata, the aristocracy and the peasants. To the former belong the sheikh homes in Topzawa, Shadala, Sargala and Serkan. I visited peasant homes in Topzawa, Rikawa, Mirza Rustam and Balkha. The police official's house I dwelt in at the ferry town of Mirza Rustam was in between the two.

The provincial town environment (for the sake of simplicity called urban milieu) I first met with in the local Liwa capital, Sulaimani, but also in Kirkuk, Halabja, Tawella and Rowanduz. The women of this urban milieu could be sharply divided into two groups, the "educated" who had been given schooling, and the "uneducated" who, like the village women, could neither read nor write. These two groups of urban women could be met with in the same house, as was the case in the home of my interpreter, where the husband's two wives belonged to the "uneducated" group whilst the daughters had attended school and thus represented the other group. But even though these two groups of urban women were found within the same household their cultural patterns were quite different.

The part of Kurdistan I visited (Southern Kurdistan) is mountainous and lies in the northern sub-tropical zone. The year consists of a cool winter half year, with rain from November to April, and a hot, rainless summer from May to October. As an exception I experienced a violent shower on June 5th (1957). The villages lie on the sides of hills above the cultivated fields. The houses, for the most part built together in rows, lie in terraces above each other up the steep slope of the hill, so that the flat roof of the uppermost house forms an open space outside the one above it. The communications consist of mountain tracks hedged by scrub and heaped-up stones, or the bottom of dried-out water-courses. No attempt has anywhere been made to level the ground. The watercourses and springs

10:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

Two Pizhder warriors from the agha's bodyguard. These men are regarded as personal retainers and therefore they rank higher than serfs. Each man has his own horse and rifle

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[p 319 (1)]

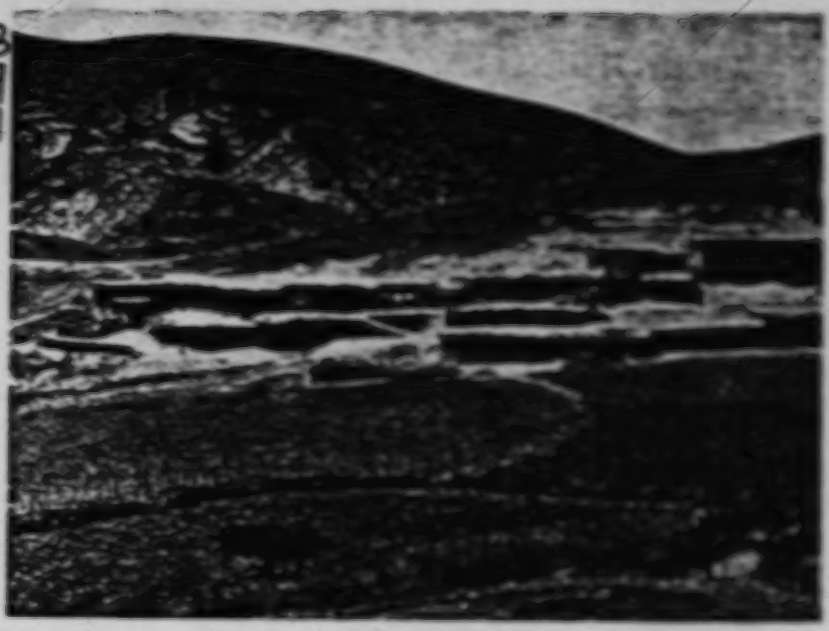

Fig. 12. The tobacco field is ploughed with oxen. Tejuosmo.

216 Tobacco is not fermented. Pulverized tobacco cannot be kept for
[illegible], but is pressed by hand into cigarette-sized paper tubes ending in a cardboard cylinder. These paper tubes, inserted in each other and collected in large packets, are purchased at the city in the town. They are placed in vertical groups on metal trays. The filling of the paper casings with pulverized tobacco is woman's work. (Tobacco sample: E. 2345).

562 Woman's world, like man's, is subject to the social structure of the village.

491 The villages I had an opportunity of visiting belonged to an ajiri or rajiri[?]. He had no need to
525 live in the village, for he could, for example, have resided in Sukiranci on the Bandima plateau. Incidentally the owner of a village could be a woman managing the property for a son who had not
[illegible] reached his majority, as was the case with Lady Adibi's daughter-in-law, who at the time I met her was living at Sukiranci. It was said that she owned "many villages and womenswear". If the owner of a village did not dwell on his property he had in the village, according to Lundi[?], a manager "Sukiki", to represent him. A village owner could be of the same family as his tenants or farmers, in which event relations were purely tribal. In cases I was able to investigate in Tejuosmo, Bakoum, Bergala and Serkan the sheikhs were not related to the inhabitants and conditions were feudal. The

The village scene

Fig. 13. Village houses built up the slope. Tsgaroto

owner of the village land, the ground to be farmed and some useful soil, some stony or worse to cultivate the mountain[8]. Tenants owned their seeds, their implements and the only part of the house construction that was of value, the big poplar trunks that were used as rafters.

According to information obtained through my interpreter, tenants handed over 30% of the tobacco crop and 10% of all other crops, besides ploughing, harvesting and threshing for the village council[9]. On another occasion the interpreter gave the amount as 30% of both wheat and tobacco. However this information must be taken with reserve. Edmonds[10] gives 10% of the wheat crop, wheat and barley-plus free for grazing, house and eggs. Lund[11] states 30% of the tenant himself supplies the seeds and possesses agricultural implements, but 70% of the owner of the village has to supply them.

During the British mandate period, 1918-1922, the Land Settlement Commission was established to "a court of claims relating to questions of land tenure" in connection with a "comprehensive programme" of surveying for the purpose of assessing systematically all cultivated land and finally "settling and register proprietary rights"[12]. A representative of this commission held a meeting with farmers in the district's courtyard at Sellan during my stay there.

CHAPTER II

MATERIAL SURROUNDINGS

Three forms of dwellings are found in Kurdistan, the one transportable, the two others stationary. 342

The transportable form is the black tent, *rešmâl*[1], the easily erected dwelling of the Kurdish nomad, dealt with in detail by Fröhlich[2] and not included in my investigations, which only describe settled forms of existence as well as of life.

The two variants of the stationary form are the *kal* hut, *kâpân*[3], only erected for a single summer's habitation, and the permanent house, *odeh* or *mal*. Leaf huts are put up around the villages of Topzawa and Rabzewa at the beginning of June when the summer, *hâwîn*, really begins. They are erected on the shelf[4] harvested winter fields and on slopes in the hills a little above the village which, as mentioned earlier, project from the hillside in terraces. The framework of the leaf hut consists of 4, 6 or 8 poplar trunks a good 3 metres in height, which at the top terminate in a fork. The number depends upon the projected size of the building. The hut has a rectangular ground plan and only one room. The forked trunks are placed in the ground, and supported by stones rank around them. Resting on the forks, two straight poplar trunks as heavy as the vertical ones are placed horizontally. Above this are laid thinner transverse sticks that carry a layer of twigs on top of which is laid a very thin layer of branches to which the leaves are attached. To form the walls thin saplings reaching from the ground to the roof are stuck into the soil; in between these leafy twigs are threaded, an opening being left for the door. This door opening can face north, south or east, but it does not seem that there is any fixed tradition in this respect. Instead of plaited twigs ready-made mats can be used for the walls[5], but these are not very solid, particularly in the event of dust storms. (In June '54 several finished or half-finished leaf huts were blown down in these two villages). The huts do not have fencing or anything of that sort. They are put up by the men and serve as summer dwellings for the village families whose permanent houses, on account of position or size, cannot provide the coolness afforded in the hot season by a larger house. [342]

It is said that in the trading centre of Urmiâh, higher up in the mountains near the frontier of Iran, 346
which families move out to the fruit plantations, "the gardens", because of the work there, but I had 321
no opportunity to investigate the form of dwelling they build there. They maintain that "in Mergâwar" 345
families are erected in the fruit gardens"[6], but does not further describe them.

The permanent house is built of various materials, but is everywhere cubical in shape, with a flat 342
clay roof borne by poplar trunks (as opposed to the pitched roof of the Turks). In the mountains 334
near the Iranian frontier where there is no lack of natural stone, blind, the walls of the houses are built

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 23 -- 4/4/1958]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

a ledge forming the exterior edge of each step. These steps are exceptionally high and uneven[1]. Some of the houses in Sakhmani in which I had an opportunity to live were built of unfired clay bricks, others were made of fired bricks which nowadays are being increasingly adopted. Most of them had only one storey and the same flat clay roof as in the villages. Where the clay brick walls are replaced by walls of fired brick, the clay roof was retained, though without the projecting eaves, as walls of burnt brick did not require the same protection from the winter rain as do clay walls. The two-storeyed houses had a staircase which, with high steps, led direct from the courtyard to the first floor, where the family rooms were situated—an Iranian architectural element—which was found repeated in a house made of sun-dried clay brick in the village of Sargalu, incidentally its most distinguished building, the residence of the sheikh.

THE FUNCTION OF THE DWELLING

Having reviewed the practical side of the dwelling's construction, we shall now proceed to its form and function as the framework of women's life within the four different feminine environments.

As an example of the residential frame surrounding the women of the village aristocracy, Sheikh Ta'fiz's property in the village of Topawwa will be taken, and for that of the ordinary peasant woman a quite small house in Balkhe. The two urban environments, the "educated" and "uneducated" were found within the walls of a single house, that of my interpreter's family at Sakhmani. The picture of that house will be supplemented by features from other dwellings in that town and in Kirkuk, inhabited by women representing both states.

Sheikh Taffiz's house at Topawwa is occupied by the family itself consisting of husband, 42 years old, wife, 40, three sons, 18, 15 and 6, two daughters, 17 and 8, a daughter, 12, of another wife now returned to her home, and, more or less constantly, the husband's younger brother, about 20, a co-owner of the property. There was also a servant girl, about 20 years old with two children, a 4 year old daughter and a 2 year old son. As a tenant of a room that had no entrance into the house was a poor widow with several sons who, however, were not at home when I was there—a total of 15—18 persons. As opposed to the other village houses, which lay in terraces on the slope of the hill, the flat clay roofs of the lower houses forming an open space in front of those above them, Sheikh Taffiz's house lay by itself. It was built of sun-dried clay brick on a stone foundation, plastered with a mixture of straw and clay. The roof was of poplar trunks with the addition of brushwood covered by a thick, hard-packed and rolled layer of clay. The house had six different levels of flat roofing. It lay close to a slightly sloping, unlevelled piece of ground on the outskirts of the village, a little above it. A watercourse, which even in the hottest summer never ran dry, passed alongside the back wall of the property, and water from it was diverted through the wall into a cemented basin, about 2×1×0.75 metres, lying in a small garden, with an shallow under the wall.

The property was divided into three contiguous zones: the family house, the farm and the guest wing. The family house was orientated like an ancient house with court and hall; houses oriented a court. Four high, irregular steps led from the court to the dwelling house, which, on account of the

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 21. Sheikh Taiba's property. Tegawra.

configuration of the ground, lay on a ledge above it. The farm had direct access to the courtyard through an opening in a low wall. It comprised stables and store rooms which enclosed the small court on three sides; the fourth side being filled by a garden and a basin for ablutions. As appears from the ground plan and elevation, the entrance to the farm lay to the west of the property. Its double gate was of corrugated iron. Admission to the family house was only possible through a narrow wooden door with two steps outside and a corridor inside which led into the court-yard. In the wing of the family house a room possessing direct access to the high-road was occupied by the widow and her sons, and in the wing of the farm dwelt the servant girl and her children. Neither of these two rooms was connected with the family house or the farm, being completely isolated. Built together with, but not directly connected with it, was the guest wing. A guest wing is typical of the finer houses in Kurdish villages and is understood by outsiders from the whole village as the right. It is dealt with in detail as a sociological phenomenon by Bertram, Edgcumb and Leigh[9]. There was direct access to the guest wing from the eastern highway that passed by the property to the village of Kalawra. At right angles to the small steps up to the door of the family living room were steps led to another wooden door through which one passed into a hujra. The roof to this was supported by five columns of hollow, but variously shaped poplar trunks with roughly-hewed wooden blocks inserted as

[Text Continues Top of P 32--Analyst]

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Fig. 28. Lane in Sulaimani. Left: wall of burnt bricks. Right: wall of mud bricks.
Fig. 29. Mud wall with entrance to baking room. Woman is rolling dough on a baking table. Sulaimani.

The home now to be reviewed as a type of residential background for the two feminine environments in urban surroundings, is the family house of my interpreter in Sulaimani. The father was a businessman who, as representative for a big firm in Baghdad, had a shop for electrical articles in the main street of Sulaimani. Although he traded in these modern things the business was fitted up like one of the larger booths in the *sūq* with a carpet-covered bench for the customers and a small workshop table for the proprietor—for example, just like a goldsmith's booth.

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In addition to the husband, about 60, the family in this home consisted of two wives, 55 and 37, and eleven children. Of these five were sons: 26, 13, 8, 6 and about 4 months, and six daughters: my interpreter, 25, the others 23, 17, 16, 15 and 3. A 19 year old daughter was married and lived with her husband's family (joint or extended family household). Normally, then, 14 persons lived in the home.

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Like the Sheikh property at Topawa, the home was an entity shut off from the world around although not resident in a detached house. It comprised one of a row of one-storied houses built together in the older quarter of Sulaimani, and looked out on an unpaved alley between windowless walls. The house consisted of an older part built of sun-dried clay bricks, and a newer section built of fired yellow bricks. Both parts had a roof of poplar rafters covered with brushwood and a rolled clay roof on top. The only difference between them was that the rafters of the older part of the house projected, as is the case in village architecture, like a strong eave for the protection of the clay roof, whilst the clay roof had almost no projection over the brick walls. The house was constructed around a courtyard. Apart from the iron entrance door it was completely shut off from the outside world. The entrance door was at one end of the wall of fired brick that shut

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4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

341 342 361 369 [312] [364]

off the house from the street. Two low steps led up to the entrance door through which one came into a hall open to the courtyard. Both hall and courtyard had tiled floors, that of the former being slightly higher than that of the latter. From there a door led into the guest room, which also possessed a tiled floor and two glass windows looking out on the courtyard, though no connexion with the family section of the house[29]. Along the wall lining the street were the water installations. In the hall, at the side of the entrance, there was a wash bowl with running water. Along the courtyard, against the street wall, was the latrine. This had a sunken, pear-shaped bowl at floor level with an outflow. In the wall was a tap with some rubber piping for washing after use. Before the door to the latrine was a large, barrel-shaped basin built up from the floor, with a tap at the side of it; in addition a water container under which a fire could be lit enabling hot water to be obtained from the tap in the bathroom, which also lay along the street wall with a small disrobing room in front. Otherwise the bathroom was constructed in the same way as that in the Sheikh's house at Topzawa. The house thus had three taps in all from which Sulaimani's good and well-cleaned municipal water could be obtained. The hall, the guest room, the garden wall and its niches were newly built of yellow brick. The courtyard was covered by natural stone and had an outlet in the centre. This had originally been surrounded by a small basin with a fountain, but after one of the children had been drowned in it, it had been done away with, leaving the central point of the court as a square of earth with an outlet, the soil around which was scraped away when needed after swilling the court. Around the courtyard lay the rooms constituting the actual family dwelling, the women's inviolable domain. As appears from the ground plan, this part of the house—the oldest, built of mud brick—consisted of two oblong rooms lying at right angles to each other with a three-walled room—a kind of *hayvān*—between, that opened on the courtyard, and from which doors led into the two rooms mentioned. Both these had hard-packed earth floors, but the ceiling was covered with a layer of canvas, which was also the case with the ceilings in the newer part of the house. Facing the court there were barred glass windows going right down to the floor in both rooms. The storeroom of the house, where grain, butter and household utensils were kept, lay behind the guest reception room, but unconnected with it. It was entered from one of the two rooms mentioned above, and kept closed with a padlock. There were no windows. Open to the courtyard, but shielded by a pile of firewood, the cookhouse was squeezed

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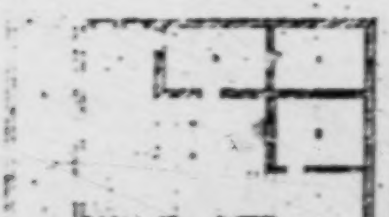

Fig. 30. Ground-plan of family house, Sulaimani.
Scale 1:200.
a: central living room, *hayvān*; b: sleeping rooms; c: store rooms; d: cooking and baking room; e: bath room, *hammām*; f: latrine; g: guest room. (I.T. fig. 20).

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

in between the street wall and the rooms in the old part of the house. As in the Sheikh's house at Topzawa there was an oil cooker and cooking pits built in the floor. There was electric light in the house and plugs for an electric iron and electric fan. Work connected with the cooking of food was decentralized, also as at Topzawa, despite the slight extent of the house. The food was prepared in the courtyard and in the three-walled room, the cooking and baking was done in the cookhouse, either over the oil stove or cooking pits in the case of cooking, or over a fire with the help of a concave iron sheet, in the case of baking. Washing up was done with cold water at the big basin between the latrine and the bathroom. Clothes were also washed there in a large, flat vessel placed on the ground.

In the open hall was a set of clumsy wooden sofas with detachable, light-blue cotton covers. There was also a large table. All these were on occasion moved down to the courtyard. As an exception the table was used for meals, but as a rule it had bedclothes piled on it during the day. There was no steel furniture, but the guest room contained an upholstered set of furniture, polished wood sofa and easy chairs covered with plush, and a smoker's table. This set formed an interior and was not moved, but nevertheless guests used the floor of the guest room for sleeping. During the summer there was no furniture in the other rooms with the exception of a pair of low benches on which were heaped the winter blankets, grain sacks and such like. In addition there stood in the one room, quite alone, a large wardrobe of polished wood with a mirror in the door. It had originally been intended for clothes and had been fitted with shelves, but these had been taken out and replaced by bundles containing the clothing of the different members of the family. Stacked in the corners stood the blue, red and green metal chests, and on the walls were pegs and nails for the clothes of the family[39]. There were no restrictions in regard to women's clothing hanging anywhere.

From the one corner of the courtyard, between the cookhouse and the bathroom, a small ladder of poplar trunk led up to the flat clay roof of the house, which was connected with all the roofs, though these varied in height, in that quarter of the town. During the time I was in Sulaimani the two iron bedsteads of the house were placed up here, and mattresses were rolled out for all the members of the family unless a dust storm forced them down into the courtyard. In that event the mattresses, but not the beds, were moved down. The sleeping space on the roof, that in summer time extended the inhabited area of the house in the same way as was the case at the Sheikh's house at Topzawa, was, on the side turned towards an adjacent transept, closed off by mats[39], which were also seen on the other roofs of the town. However, these mats did not provide much private life for they did not form any kind of enclosed space around the sleeping places. A remarkable contrast was created between the common night quarters of all the town roofs, practically all on the same level, and the complete segregation of the house when descending the ladder. As was the case with the village aristocracy and among the peasants, the dining room was where the food trays were put down. In the urban environment I did not experience meals being eaten on the roof, as this always took place in the house itself, though in different rooms, the hall, or the courtyard. The guest room was only used when entertaining guests on special occasions.

Despite the beginnings of a furnishing scheme and the interior to be found in the guest room, the same flexibility existed in the placing of the other furniture and in the eating and sleeping pattern as was the case in the villages. This disturbed daily life as practised by the two wives of the house,

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

764 cases without using the washing board stored at and lent out by the mosque, and not within sight of the mother. Her rôle is a completely passive one. The ceremonies must consist of an unequal number of pieces of cloth. Neither knifes nor scissors are used to divide the material. Both the girl and the boy are carried from the home to the mosque, and then the burial ground, swathed in a prayer carpet over the ceremonies. Children are carried by a male relative (mother's brother: *xalf*), [369] accompanied by other men. Lamentations incompatible with Islam and the sacrifice of a fowl [765] were practised in the uneducated urban milieu. The sacrifice was not specially because a child was dead as is the case in Egypt, but because two deaths in the family had occurred shortly after each other and it was desired to avert a third in the near future. The mourning period for a child is a fortnight. The bathroom used for washing the corpse was shut for eight days afterwards. The women of 765 the family visit the grave every Friday for five years, after which it is forgotten. Memorial cakes are distributed to friends and acquaintances in connection with a death. The mourning period for adults [515] is two-three years. Visits of condolence take place for eight days when a child dies. The women of [301] the family remove their ornaments and abstain from baths during this time.

Fig. 95. Burial place with big trees outside the village. Topzawa.

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5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

THE KURDS OF IRAQ

C. J. Edmonds

I.

KURDISTAN is the country inhabited by the Kurds as a homogeneous community. It is divided between Turkey, Persia and Iraq with small overlaps into Syria and the Soviet Union, and its boundaries do not coincide with any international frontiers or internal administrative divisions.

Iraqi Kurdistan is bounded on the north and east by the Turkish and Persian frontiers, where the population on both sides is almost entirely Kurdish. On the south-west the internal ethnical boundary lies approximately along the railway from the Syrian frontier to Mosul city on the Tigris and thence a straight line to Mandali on the Persian frontier. The majority of the Kurds are thus concentrated in the four liwas[1] which in Ottoman times constituted the vilayet of Mosul: Mosul (35% of the total population), Arbil (91%), Kirkuk (52%) and Sulaimani (100%). Kurds also have a majority in the two adjacent *qadhas*[1] of Khanaqin and Mandali. Other than the Kurds, there are villages of Chaldean Christians near Mosul city to the north and east, and about 10,000 Assyrians compactly settled in the highlands of the Amadiya region: there are also colonies of Turkomans in a string of towns, large and small, along the great highway leading from Mosul through Arbil, Altun Köprü, Kirkuk and Kifri towards Baghdad. On the other hand there are islands of Kurds outside these limits, the most interesting being the Jabal Sinjar, west of Mosul, where most of the inhabitants are Yazidis, the people often misleadingly described as devil worshippers.

The Kurdish population of Iraq can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy, on the basis of the census of 1947, at about 900,000 or nearly one fifth of the total for the whole country. No statistics are available for Persian Kurdistan but a similar figure would be a reasonable guess. The Turkish census of 1945 gives the number of persons whose mother tongue was Kurdish as one and a half million; there is reason to think that the real number of Kurds is higher, perhaps two millions. The religion of the great majority of the Kurds in all three countries is Sunni Muslim; the mystical dervish orders have adherents in all parts of Kurdistan.

Of the larger towns Sulaimani is entirely and Arbil predominantly Kurdish. Smaller townships in which Kurds form the whole or the large

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[1] [Territorial-administrative units, with vilayets sub-divided into liwas which are subdivided into qadhas.--Analyst]

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

INTRODUCTION

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• [36] Scattered over the South Kurdish countryside are a great number of small, compact villages, essentially similar in their physical aspects, yet highly variegated with respect to their composition and organization, ranging from extended lineage organizations to fully developed feudal organization. Thus, on the village level, there is a great diversity of forms of social organization. Yet the *culture* of the area seems essentially uniform, and these alternative principles of organization are universally known. In the recent history of some villages, there has been a rapid, fundamental change from one type of social organization to another. In the following, an attempt will be made to discuss these various types of organization as they express themselves in the actual power hierarchy of individuals in the village. The discussion will thus be directed towards discovering what types of social categories exist, what actual powers each category entails, and which of these categories are found in harmonious conjunction — since some of the categories that belong in different basic frameworks of social organization are, as might be expected, mutually exclusive in any local community.

177 It seems probable that a fluid and complex situation of this type is characteristic of societies which lie in the shatter zone between larger culture areas — in this case, between the Arab, Persian, and Turkish. Such a location produces familiarity with various competing normative systems, principles of organization, and power hierarchies. This familiarity on the part of the villager leads to attempts at

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

stable, and official administration, directed from Baghdad, grew in scope and progessively enlarged its area of effective control.

Such then is the background of the villages where the following material was collected. They are primarily tenant villages in the Suleimani valley, or villages dominated by freeholding Hamawand farmers. However, certain aspects of local social structure become clear only by comparison with other situations — particularly those found in the *Jaf* areas — or by historical comparisons and deductions. The data on Jaf organization was obtained from a limited number of informants on short visits to various villages. For historical material, C. J. Rich's accounts (op.cit) have been found most useful.

I have tried to avoid bringing conditions and factors in the towns of Suleimani, Chemchemal, Halebja, etc. into the picture. The numerous «Western» influences in these centers are extremely complicated and difficult to evaluate. In the intricacies of the class and near-caste system, differential contacts and reactions due to sub-cultures are indeed complex. The rural areas, on the other hand, show greater uniformity in patterns: the tribal areas are organized and separable, and the tenant villagers, in their small, endogamous communities, have strong patterns of localism and traditionalism. There is a popular story illustrating this localism: A donkey belonging to one of the tenant farmers in a village ran away; so the farmer followed it, to catch it. The donkey climbed up the hillside, far away from the village, but the farmer did not want to lose it. So he followed it high up into the mountains, never turning, and finally close to the mountain top he caught it. On turning around he saw below him the whole beautiful Shahr-i-zur plain, in which his own village lay. The peasant gasped and exclaimed: «I never knew the world was so vast!»

What goes on in the towns belongs, as far as most villagers are concerned, to a quite separate world, and it seemed both in the field and in working up the notes valid to separate off the Kurdish *countryside* as the area of study. But due to diversity even in this area, any attempt at giving a conventional anthropological description of «the culture» of «the society» must fail. Each of the compact, widely separated little villages shows characteristics of its own, local

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

are members during their lives. The suffix *-aza*, literally «child of» or «born of» indicates removal by one descending generation from this group; repetition of the term indicates two generations' removal. Thus son's son is *kurraza*, while FaBrDaDa, a frequent substitute wife when a closer relative is unavailable, is *amoaza-aza*. Ascending generations are categorized by constructing similar bilateral units with ego's father or grandfather in the position of ego. They may thus be described in several ways, according to the type of relation one whishes to stress. E. g. FaFaBr may be *bra-i-bapirem*, brother-of-my-grandfather, or more commonly *mam-i-baokim*, uncle-of-my-father. 601

So much for the structure of the family and household. The village community, in which these activities take place and relations exist, will be described more fully at a later point, (p. 101 ff). Suffice it here to say that in physical layout it is a very compact, small unit, located close to or within the village agricultural lands. Usually placed on a hill, one will tend to find the un-irrigated fields of beans and lentils above the village, higher up in the valleyside. Irrigated tobacco and vegetable plots, where such are found, generally depend on the same source of water as the village itself, and are thus found close around and below it; while the dryland grainfields usually cover the flats in the valley bottom. The village grazing grounds may be quite large, stretching from the fallow fields in the valley bottom to the top of the ridge which divides this valley from the next. And the limits of the village lands are the limits within which most life activities take place. 361 •

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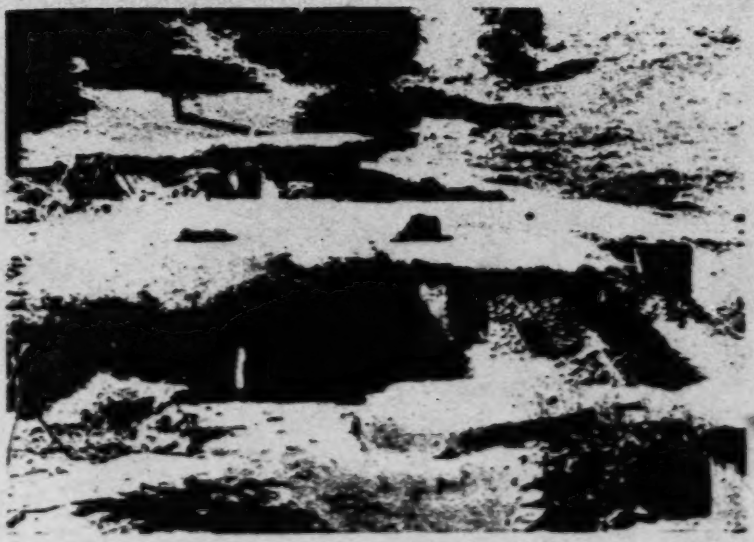

Houses in a tenant village (three households).

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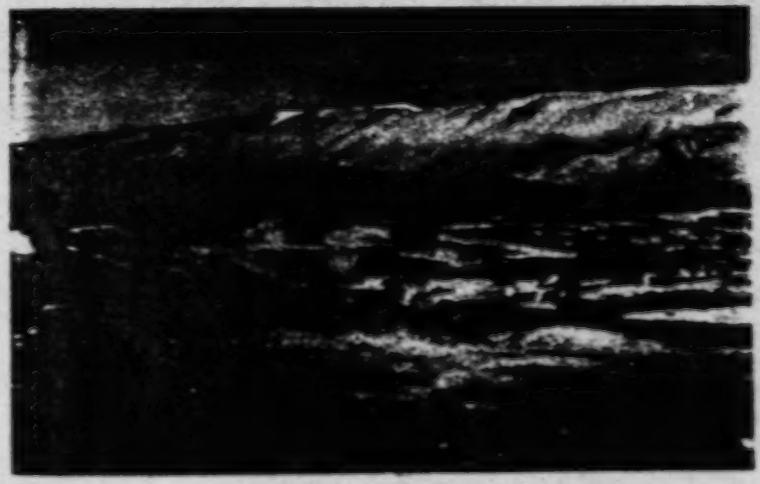


A Hamawand village.

[opposite p. 96 -- Analyst]

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Chapter V.

The village scene

THE VILLAGE

The village, in its physical aspects, is fairly uniform over most of the South Kurdish area. The houses are built of mud, or rock in a mud mortar; the roofs are flat, held up by horizontal rafters — the most valuable item in the construction. Due to the nature of the architecture and the small size of available timber, the rooms of the houses tend to be quite small; pillars and posts are never used to support a longer span of roof. A second story on the building is rarely found. Frequently, there is no door with which to close the entrance, and never any glass in the windows. The windows are small and high up on the wall, the small room is always rather dark. There is no smoke-hole, the smoke from the fire on the hearth in the middle of the floor finds its way out through the entrance or the windows. The rooms are utterly devoid of furniture — the only contents of the room to which a visitor is shown is a tea samovar and some small glasses placed on an in-set shelf, and a roll of small rugs, mostly of felt, which are spread out on the floor to be sat on.

The number of rooms to a house varies, but is never very great, and must of course give accomodation to donkeys, cattle, and perhaps a horse, as well as to the people. To each house belongs a small courtyard, enclosed by a low wall. In winter, the house gives only

342 partial protection from the icy gales that sweep down from the Zagros mountains. In the warm weather, the family moves out on the flat rooftop after sundown, primarily to benefit from the cool breeze off the mountains.

• 361 Wherever a hill is available — which means nearly everywhere in Kurdish territory — the village is placed on a steep slope. That way, the flat rooftop of one house forms a kind of front terrace for the house above it in the hill, and the families tend to use the roof of the house below them for their own purposes, and so on down the line. As indicated by this, the village forms a very compact unit — maybe originally for defence purposes; certainly in part to save trouble by making double use of all walls and partitions in house construction. Frequently, the village is placed in the slope below a cool spring; only in the low country does it depend on wells for water. A common feature is a small pool, fed directly from the spring and protected from pollution by a low stone wall. Around the pool stand tall, shady trees, from which no branch must be broken, and in it one frequently finds large fish, fed by the villagers, which similarly must not be molested. The pool serves as a place for ritual washing and a favorite place of prayer.

621 Although considerable respect is shown for the sanctity of the home, many household activities must necessarily become public, especially in the half-year when they center around the rooftops. A certain everyday pattern of community life thus emerges in the cool of the evening. It requires much cooperation and bustle to direct the returning animals to their respective homes in the evening, with shouting and chasing of stray goats over rooftops and along partitions, away from the grainbins and waterskins and infants. Later, each family gathers around the evening meal, and then there is visiting back and forth, news being swapped, a glow in the dark from the fires where the tea is brewing, and a steady murmur of conversation. All through the night, the clamor and activity continues, with braying donkeys, crying babies, dogs chasing cats, cows shifting and groaning.

Though the patterns of each village differ, and any one of them may appear to be only utter confusion, there are of course, regulari-

G14 The taifa in turn is frequently divided into subsections called tira (branch), though in many contexts the two terms appear to be interchangeable. The Mallasherifi taifa referred to before are for instance subdivided into three tira each group claiming descent from one of the sons of Malla Sherif. These sons (I did not obtain their names) are supposed to have settled respectively in Nerga, Gelala and Rust, and these villages remain the centres of their respective tira to the present day. Thus the Agha of Rust is overlord of a number of villages by virtue of the fact that he is head of his tira. The Shevdini taifa is similarly subdivided into three tira, the names being given to me as Badr Agha, Laka Hasani and Hamadi Bahakhr Agha - these being presumably the names of the ancestral founders of the lineage. On the other hand some persons at least did not seem to be clearly aware of this subdivision and on being asked the name of their tira would reply "Shevdin". Moreover I was assured by one informant that there is no difference between taifa and tira, but that the one is bigger than the other. This is I think an accurate description. Tira is a type of kinship group fairly frequently encountered by anthropologists. Usually termed lineage, but more aptly described by Firth as ramage, it differs only from the clan group in scale and political cohesion. With the loosening of political ties the distinction between the two types of grouping tends to disappear. The Agha of Rust for instance claimed to me that he was head of his own taifa and as such of equal rank to Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash. Sheikh Mohammad of course did not admit this claim but maintained that Mir Sadik, Agha of Rust was his subject.

From this description and the examples quoted it is clear that the terms ashiret, taifa and tira fall into the normal anthropological classifications of tribe, clan and lineage (ramage), with the single abnormality that the clans are in this case endogamous, or largely so.

Inheritance of Land Tenure

• 36/ The settlements for the most part consist of small villages (gund) scattered along the valleys. The term gund really includes both the houses and the cultivation surrounding them and may at times prove confusing. The gund of Nanparian for instance contains two houses only, that of Dergala has over a hundred. Every gund is the 'property' of a landlord (Agha). If the Agha owns only one gund as in 621 423 the case of Hamid Amin Agha of Nanparian he will live in it himself; if

*See C.Daryll Forde - Fission and Accretion in the Patrilineal Clans of a semi-Bantu community in Southern Nigeria J.R.A.I. Vol. 68; 314,
R.Firth - We, the Tikopia;370,371.
582. Note however that owing to the rule of cross-cousin marriage, Kurdish taifa and tira tend to be endogamous rather than exogamous.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

622 landlord of the soil - by which title he receives rent, and he supports the village Guest House. As we shall see later these two functions are closely interrelated.

000 Social Organisation Areas other than Balik

As explained earlier my information for groups other than the Balik must be treated with reserve. The following notes may however prove of value to further students of the area.

621 177 Area B. It would appear that the tribes of this area such as the Surchi and the Khushnao were originally organised on much the same lines as described above but that owing to their relatively long period of contact with an external administration the social forms have now become blurred. The general tendency seems to be for the land to become the property of absentee landlords having no kinship relation with their tenants. The villages moreover lack the clan homogeneity noticeable among the Balik.

621 Area C. Mention has already been made of the principle settled tribes of this area, the Dizai and the Girdi. With the Dizai as recorded by Say the organisation is feudal rather than tribal, since the village Aghas are not of the same kin group as their tenants. I was told that "all the Dizai call each other amras" implying, if true, that the whole tribe consists of one taifa only. With the Girdi the position appears to be somewhat different. Jamil Agha, their paramount chief, is himself a Girdi but is a townsman in habit and holds himself very much aloof from his followers.

• 361 312 In its technological aspects the plains culture differs markedly from that of the hills, especially as regards housebuilding and agricultural equipment. An important sociological difference is that, owing to the limited water supply, the position of the village sites is determined and limited by the occurrence of water holes, and the villages in consequence are larger than those found in the hills. From the size of the surrounding cemetery and from archaeological considerations it would appear that some such sites (Bahrika for instance) have been in continuous occupation for several thousand years.

The Nomads

621 Though my information is extremely scanty the indications are that the social organisation of tribes such as the Herki differs in many respects from that of the settled tribes. In terminology the term hahila appears to correspond to ashiret and khel to taifa but the identity may not be exact. The term hoba corresponds to gund and implies a small settlement of tents in one location. This last term is also used by the settled peoples. Those among the Shwdizi

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Land Scarcity, House Construction and Kinship

311 The indications are that land resources are for the most part as fully utilized as present technical equipment permits; the amount of 433 marginal land that could be brought into cultivation merely by an increase in economic inducement is small. Except on the scarland country above Khalan where conditions are too severe, wheat is cultivated wherever the land is sufficiently level to work a plough, and where shelter permits subsidiary cultivations such as vines are carried far up onto the steep hill face. Since there is clear evidence that the food supplies grown are only barely adequate for the needs of the community it may be postulated that the existing population approximates to the maximum that can be supported by the present economic system.

• 261 Land scarcity anyway seems the most plausible explanation for the 342 very curious form of architecture adopted in this region. The villages 62/ are always constructed on a steep hill which could have no possible 512 agricultural utility. They are not constructed at the top of the hill as defence considerations might seem to suggest but on the side of it immediately above the level plough land at the bottom of the valley. Sometimes as at Balash and at Bayat the houses are clustered together in an almost solid block; elsewhere they are grouped into a number of individual clusters, the cohesion of these visible structures seeming to bear some correlation with the degree of kinship unity within the village. As can be seen from photograph No. 3 the houses in a particular cluster are frequently built one above the other in a series of terraces so that the roof of one house forms the front porch of the one below. The house block shown in the photograph was occupied by two brothers and their families. These occupied the two top buildings. The bottom building though also originally a dwelling house was at the time of my visit being used as a store house for both families. And this is no exceptional case; a single block of buildings such as this is usually found to be occupied by a group of near relatives functioning for the most part as a joint economic group. In view of the obvious inconvenience of such close proximity it could hardly be otherwise. If however economic developments of the future tend to accentuate the rights of the individual as opposed to those of the kinship group we may expect the complementary development of a more individualistic style of architecture. On the other hand the existing type of joint dwelling house is a factor which complicates any effort on the part of the Agha to reorganise the system of land tenure and cultivation on lines of greater efficiency.

261 One may remark perhaps that in the plains where the whole 342 agricultural emphasis is upon wheat production and where the limitations of water supply radically affect the whole economic organisation of the community, not only the arrangement of the villages but the actual technological construction of the houses is totally different from that of the hill districts. What follows applies only to the villages of the

[illegible]

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Rowanduz area, and approximately also to area 3 of Map 1. It does not apply at all to area 6. 361 ● 342

The technological peculiarities of the buildings may be summarised as follows:

The shape is rectangular but there is no consistency in size or plan. As a rule the main door faces downhill and leads out onto the roof of the house immediately below but this practice varies. The walls are usually of rough cut stone set in a mud plaster about two feet thick, but the modern tendency is to substitute sun-dried mud brick for the stone and plaster. Some houses are two stories high but this is rather unusual; in such cases the upper storey is reached by an outside ladder. All rooms have windows in the outside wall but, except in the Agha's houses, these are very rarely any shutters. The fire is set in a small floor pit; there is sometimes a proper smoke vent in the roof but more usually the only escape for smoke is through the window. The roof is flat, sloping downwards slightly towards the front; the main roof beams run horizontally, parallel to the hill contours, while over them is laid a thick layer of thin brushwood about the thickness of pea-sticks. This is given a top dressing several inches thick of a slurry made from lime, ashes and rubble. In dry weather this sets hard and provides a perfectly rigid floor, but it is not a true cement. Under rain, it quickly goes soft and must be kept constantly rolled if leaks are to be avoided. The furnishings of a Kurdish house are extremely meagre. A variety of cooking utensils are the chief items. There is seldom a chair or a table. Bedding consists of felt quilts, perhaps a rug or two, and blankets. During the daytime these are rolled up in a corner and pushed out of the way. It may be mentioned that the most valuable parts of the house are the roof beams. Straight lengths of timber of adequate length are hard to obtain, and only Aghas can afford anything really substantial. If for any reason a peasant decides to build a new house, he dismantles the roof of his old one and uses the materials for his new house. A village site that has been abandoned thus reverts almost immediately to common earth. The limitations of this type of architecture are chiefly defined by the deficiency of materials. This is demonstrated in the houses of the wealthier Aghas and Sheikhs where by adding refinements such as wooden floors, glass windows and hinged doors extremely comfortable houses can be erected from a design essentially similar to that of the ordinary peasant's house. With any levelling up of the general economic status of the community similar modifications of the peasant architecture may also be expected. Building is nowadays a specialist craft; an expert is usually called in from the town, the client supplying the materials. The employment of town experts is probably correlated with the adoption of mudbrick instead of stone and plaster noted above. 342 352 415 342 331 462 342

Dijkhuizen G-9 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

Halabja, the largest town in Iraqi Kurdistan with an entirely Kurdish population, [illegible]
[illegible] Passengers [illegible]

438
• 341

[p. 383(A)]

Highlanders G-3 (no date) 1945 MR.11 Kurd MR.11
Iraq

• 361 Sulaimaniya is the chief town in Iraqi
349 Kurdistan, in that it is the largest town in the Kurdish area whose population is entirely Kurdish. Other towns exist in Iraqi Kurdistan, but the larger ones—Kirkuk, Erbil and Kifri—are inhabited by as many Turcomans as Kurds, although the tribes around are Kurdish. Kurds are essentially shepherds of the mountains, and do not take easily to the life of a townsman.

175 In this they resemble their distant
178 relatives the Pathans of Afghanistan and north-western India, who, in the early migrations of Aryan-speaking peoples, penetrated into the highlands east of the Persian plateau while the Kurds spread westwards into what is now north-western Iran, eastern Turkey and north-eastern Iraq. Here, in secluded mountain valleys, they preserved many ancient characteristics which their fellow-migrants, settling

in

[p. 383(B)]

• 361

Encampment of nomad Kurds, who, moving yearly in near frontier regulations which bar the way of their old summer grazing grounds in Iran, are being gradually forced to abandon their wandering life

B-W3

Nomad Kurs in area of black canvas goat-hair tents with bamboo walls—surrounded by domestic animals

Lilliphoto G-9 (no date) [Pat MA11 Kind MA11
Iraq

221
[491]
[492]

Complete camp of a semi-nomadic tribe and its flocks on the Baghdad-Basra Road, constructed under British supervision in 1936, in Mesopotamia's typical semi-desert grazing grounds. Cows and an ass[illegible]

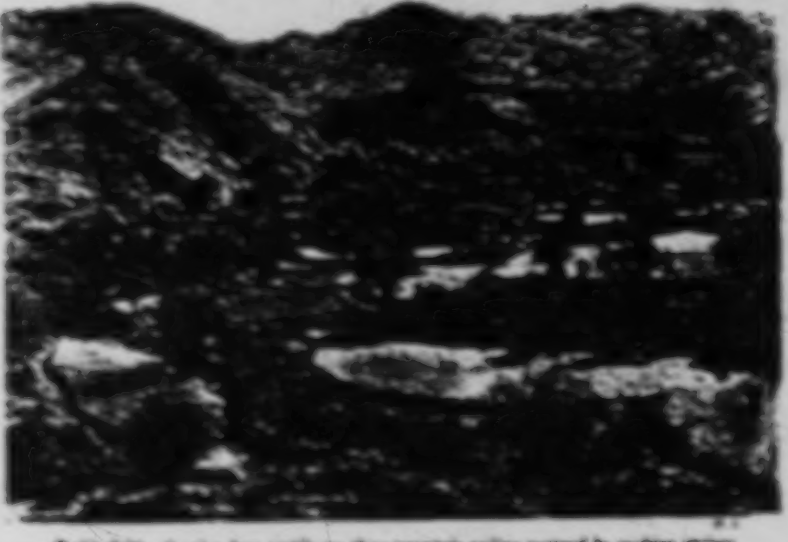
[361]

Encampment of tents occupied by semi-nomadic tribal camp from their villages with flocks on summer

• 36

View in the Amadiya Pass, one of the villages in which the semi-nomadic Kurds live, and learn to cooperate with the Arabs. A few villagers remain to tend the crops

311



Pushti Kuh, showing how people use these mountain valleys watered by gushing springs

3 Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date) 1984 M1 Middle East
Turkey MB1
Kurd MA11

The definition of 'mother tongue' allows room for classifying as Turks persons brought up to speak Turkish, who might in some contexts consider themselves as belonging to a minority group. Some private estimates, for example, put the Kurdish minority at a considerably higher figure than that given above.

The number of non-Muslims was in 1945 only 298,000 of a total population of 18,790,000.[1] There is also a large minority, which may be 4 million or even larger, of Shiī Muslims,[2] who are very definitely regarded as a distinct group by the majority of uneducated Sunnī villagers. But the population of Turkey is sufficiently homogeneous to form a united nation in the Western sense, without the problem of violent internal antagonisms which face so many nation-states that have come into being in the last thirty-five years.

The Kurds

The Kurds[3] are Turkey's largest minority and the only one to have given serious trouble to the Republic. Though an increasing number are settling down in permanent villages, the Kurds have been a mountain-dwelling, pastoral people. There have been demands from time to time for a Kurdish national state, but it is doubtful whether the majority of the Kurdish villagers and nomads have any notion of such an overall organization, and it is unlikely that any Turkish Kurd seriously entertains hope of establishing national autonomy. On the other hand, they are a tough and independent people, and though it is often said that the two or three revolts[4] which the Republic has had to face have been due to religious factors, it seems much more likely that the Kurds objected, as any independent warlike people do, to outside political control. Although the main Kurdish areas are now peaceful and administered just as any other region in Turkey, the Government is sensitive on the question, fearing that the USSR may attempt to encourage incipient Kurdish nationalism and use it to divide and weaken Turkey.

Immigration

The spread of the idea of a nation as a culturally homogeneous territorial unit causes very serious problems in all areas of mixed population. Turkey sought to rid herself of her Greek Orthodox minority by arranging, through the Treaty of Lausanne, to exchange them with Greece for the Muslim minority in Greece. In the 1920's, about 1½ million Greeks left

[1] Ibid. [2] See above, p. 33. [3] See above, p. 58.
[4] These occurred in 1925 (the most serious one), in 1930, and in 1937.

4c Wilson G-2 (no date) 1927 MHI Iraq MHI
Kurd MAH

I K 438 439 173 782 539

now a flourishing market for the surrounding country and for trade with Turkey. It has one feature of great interest: an ancient bridge of Roman design, known locally as "Alexander's bridge," though unlikely to be in any way connected with the great conqueror. Tradition at Zakho has, however, another tale of the construction of the bridge. It is said to have been built by a celebrated local governor, who found that the keystone would not remain in place. He summoned a soothsayer, who proclaimed that it would never stand until a life had been built into the arch. The governor accepted the verdict and with his councillors, who were sworn to secrecy, decided that the first living thing to follow them on to the bridge the next morning would provide the necessary victim. They waited for some hours, but no one came. Then the governor's little daughter wondered why her father was so long away and taking her pet dog she set off to look for him. Her father was at first terrified when he saw her coming, but was relieved when he noticed that her dog was running in front of her. Alas, she thought it unfitting for the dog to approach her father before she did and so she called it and stepped on to the bridge. Public opinion compelled the governor to carry out the sacrifice and the girl was built into the centre of the arch and the keystone held and has gone on holding for hundreds of years.

I K 653 185

The development of Kurdistan has naturally not been popular with all the Kurds, and I remember an interesting incident. During the construction of the Amadia road, an elderly Agha stood for a while sadly watching the blasting of a pulpit of overhanging rock. When echoes of the explosion had died and the last fragments of stone had fallen into the rocky gorge below, he turned sorrowfully away. "The old days, the old days," he lamented. "Many is the time I lay behind that rock with my rifle and held up caravans for safe-conduct money."

I K 721 361

The town of Amadia, which, like Edinburgh Castle, is situated on a rocky plateau at a height of 4,100 feet, sixteen feet higher than Cairn Gorm, is now easily accessible by road. The town was formerly ruled by semi-independent Pashas who admitted a nominal suzerainty to the Turkish authorities. It has a stormy history, and the minaret of the mosque is pitted with bullet holes. These are souvenirs of 1925, when the Barzan Kurds, in alliance with some of the descendants of the old rulers of Amadia, attacked the town and succeeded in surrounding the Mewali quinquan and a handful of police in the Government serai. The stout-hearted garrison held out until they were rescued by a body of Assyrians under the Assyrian bishop, Mar Lamsa, a great friend [illegible] of the Nestorian church.